

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 01212 01 OF 02 171046Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /073 W
-----064651 171056Z /15

R 170935Z AUG 77
FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6382
INFO AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1212

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, SF
SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: VIEWS OF AN AFRIKANER ACADEMIC
AND NATIONALIST PARTY MP

REF: (A) PRETORIA 3919, (B) PRETORIA 4107, (C) CAPE TOWN 1201

SUMMARY: AS PART OF CONTINUING EFFORT TO MONITOR EVOLUTION
OF NATIONALIST PARTY (NP) POLICIES ON CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE,
CONGENOFF RECENTLY HAD LENGTHY CONVERSATIONS WITH ANDRIES VAN
DE WELT, MP FOR BELLVILLE (CAPE TOWN) AND PROF. W. P.
ESTERHUYSE, HEAD OF DEPT OF PHILOSOPHY OF STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY. BOTH WERE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT AT
UPCOMING PARTY CONGRESSES THE LEADERSHIP WOULD NOT RPT NOT
EVEN RAISE THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUSION OF URBAN BLACKS IN
ANY NEW SYSTEM. ESTERHUYSE EXPRESSED THOUGHT THAT PARTY
HAD "TOO MANY CROWN PRINCES" JOCKEYING FOR POSITION WHICH
WAS INHIBITING PROCESS OF CHANGE. VAN DER WELT POSED TWO
POSSIBILITIES: (A) OPENING THE SYSTEM FOR MEANINGFUL
PARTICIPATION BY OTHER RACE GROUPS OR (B) "BENEVOLENT
DICTATORSHIP" WHICH WOULD TAKE DECISIONS IN INTEREST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 01212 01 OF 02 171046Z

OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS." BOTH CONTAINED CLEAR CHARGES
OF REVOLUTIONARY DISORDERS. THERE WERE "STRONG
FACTORS" IN FAVOR OF ADOPTION OF LATTER COURSE. END
SUMMARY

1. ANDRIES VAN DER WELT IS A JUNIOR NP BACKBENCHER,
HAVING COMPLETED TWO PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONS. HE

IS A FORMER SENIOR LECTURER IN SOCIOLOGY AT "COLORED" UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE AND A MEMBER OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF NP IN CAPE PROVINCE. HE IS AN ARTICULATE DEFENDER OF NP POLICIES AND REGARDED BY SOME POLITICAL OBSERVERS HERE AS HAVING CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL FOR ADVANCEMENT IN THE PARTY. HE TOLD CONGENOFF AUGUST 15 THAT HE THOUGHT MANY OF DETAILS OF CHANGES TO BE PROPOSED HAD NOT YET BEEN WORKED OUT. TAKING CARE TO STRESS THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY AND NOT WITH INSIDE KNOWLEDGE OF LEADERSHIP DECISIONS, HE OUTLINED SYSTEM OF SEPARATE PARLIAMENTS FOR COLOREDS AND INDIANS SIMILAR TO THAT PRESCRIBED BY OTHER INFORMANTS (REFTELS). HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CONSIDERATION OF INCLUSION OF URBAN BLACKS, THAT WHITES WOULD RETAIN CLEAR MAJORITY ON THE JOINT BODY(RATHER THAN "JOINT DECISION-MAKING" HE PREFERRED TO SPEAK OF "JOINT RESPONSIBILITY") AND THAT THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE MECHANISM FOR AVOIDING STALEMATE.

2. WHEN ASKED IF FOREGOING DID NOT AMOUNT TO THE APPEARANCE OF POWER-SHARING WITHOUT THE SUBSTANCE AND WHETHER THE COLOREDS AND INDIANS WERE LIKELY TO ACCEPT IT, VAN DER WELT SAID NP HAD TWO BASIC CHOICES: (A) TO OPEN SYSTEM TO GENUINE PARTICIPATION BY OTHER RACIAL GROUPS OR (B) TO ADOPT "BENEVOLENT DICTATORSHIP" WHICH WOULD MAKE CLEAR ITS INTENTION TO TAKE DECISIONS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 01212 01 OF 02 171046Z

IN INTEREST OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS AS IT SAW THEM EITHER COURSE HELD DANGER OF "REVOLUTIONARY DISORDERFI." QUESTION WAS WHICH ONE WAS MORE DANGEROUS. WITH REGARD TO THE FORMER, THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE AT ALL THAT INCREASE IN POLITICAL POWER WOULD LEAD TO INCREASE IN MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF BLACKS OR THAT IT WOULD REDUCE THE ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER GAPS SEPARATING BLACKS FROM "EUROPEANS." MOREOVER, THERE WAS NO WAY TO "LOOK DOWN THE ROAD" AND GUARANTEE SURVIVAL OF WHITES. THE US, BY DEMANDING "BLACK MAJORITY RULE" WAS ADVOCATING SYSTEM WHICH SIMPLY WOULD NOT WORK IN "AFRICAN CONTEXT" AND WAS PUSHING SOUTH AFRICA IN DIRECTION OF ADOPTING SECOND ALTERNATIVE. WITHOUT SAYING SO DIRECTLY, VAN DER WELT CLEARLY IMPLIED THAT SAG WOULD OFFER TO COLOREDS AND INDIANS A CAREFULLY PROSCRIBED AND CONTROLLED SYSTEM PROVIDING SOMEWHAT GREATER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BUT WITH WHITES RETAINING ULTIMATE CONTROL. IF THAT UNACCEPTABLE, THEN "BENEVOLENT DICTATORSHIP" MIGHT BE ONLY RECOURSE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 01212 02 OF 02 171051Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /073 W
-----064683 171056Z /23

R 170935Z AUG 77
FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6383
INFO AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1212

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, SF
SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: VIEWS OF AN AFRIKANER ACADEMIC
AND NATIONALIST PARTY MP

3. ESTERHUYSE IS ONE OF MOST PROMINENT OF STELLENBOSCH
INTELLECTUALS WHO ARE NP MEMBERS. UNLIKE THE
GROUP OF MORE OR LESS LIBERAL INTELLECTUALS OF STELLENBOSCH
WHO HAVE ATTACKED THE SAG OPENLY AND THUS HAVE ALL
BUT BEEN READ OUT OF THE TRIBE, ESTERHUYSE AND HIS
ASSOCIATES ARE STAUNCH AFRIKANERS AND NATIONALIST PARTY
MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING WHO HAVE CONFINED THEMSELVES
LARGELY TO PARTY CHANNELS IN PUSHING FOR CHANGES IN
SAG POLICIES.

4. ESTERHUYSE SAID THAT IN THEORY THE PARTY CONGRESSES
WERE TO DISCUSS ONLY THE GENERAL OUTLINES OF
A NEW SYSTEM. THE DETAILS WERE THEN TO BE WORKED OUT
WITH COLORED AND INDIAN LEADERS AND ONLY THEN WOULD
LEGISLATION BE INTRODUCED INTO PARLIAMENT. WITH
REGARD TO GENERAL OUTLINES, HE SAID IT WAS "NONSENSE"
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 01212 02 OF 02 171051Z

TO TALK ABOUT THREE SEPARATE PARLIAMENTS IN THE SENSE

OF A SOVERIGN LEGISLATIVE BODY. WHAT ONE WAS REALLY TALKING ABOUT WERE THREE SEPARATE "COMMUNITY COUNCILS." MAJOR QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE JOINT BODY WOULD BE GIVEN REAL LEGISLATIVE POWERS, THUS BECOMING AKIND OF "SUPER PARLIAMENT" OR WHETHER IT WOULD MERELY BE A VERSION OF PRESENT JOINT CABINET COUNCIL WITH WHITE PARLIAMENT CONTINUING TO WIELD EFFECTIVE POWER. IF JOINT BODY WAS TO BE GIVEN REAL POWERS, THEN QUESTION BECAME HOW WOULD DECISIONS BE MADE.

5. ESTERHUYSE SAID NUMBER OF "INFLUENTIAL AFRIKANERS" HAD PROPOSED TO THE CABINET COMMITTEE THAT ALL DECISIONS OF NEW BODY BE TAKEN BY CONSENSUS OF ALL THREE GROUPS. STATE PRESIDENT, TO BE ELECTED BY ALL THREE GROUPS, WOULD BE GIVEN EXPANDED EXECUTIVE POWERS AND WOULD HAVE CASTING VOTE IN CASE OF DEADLOCK. IF NEW SYSTEM WERE TO PROVIDE FOR MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION OF COLOREDS AND INDIANS, ELECTION OF STATE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE BY EITHER POPULAR VOTE OF ALL POPULATION GROUPS, PERHAPS WITH CERTAIN FRANCHISE QUALIFICATIONS, OR BY VOTE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES ON THE JOINT BODY. BECAUSE EITHER SYSTEM HELD OUT EVENTUAL POSSIBILITY OF NON-WHITE BEING ELECTED STATE PRESIDENT, ESTERHUYSE SAID IT UNLIKELY PARTY LEADERSHIP WOULD APPROVE IT.

6. ESTERHUYSE ALSO SAID HE AND MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES BELIEVED STRONGLY THAT PROVISION MUST BE MADE FOR URBAN BLACKS. HE SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT RANK AND FILE PARTY MEMBERS WERE ANXIOUS FOR CHANGES WHICH WOULD RESOLVE COUNTRY'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONFLICTS WHILE NOT JEOPARDIZING WHITES' CONTINUED EXISTENCE. PARTY LEADERSHIP WAS, HOWEVER, MORE CONSERVATIVE. THERE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 01212 02 OF 02 171051Z

WERE "TOO MANY PRINCES" AND THEIR PERSONALITY CLASHES AND JOCKEYING FOR POWER WERE MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE. HE FEARED THAT PARTY WOULD NOT HAVE THE "PATIENCE" TO NEGOTIATE MEANINGFULLY WITH COLORED AND INDIAN LEADERS (PM VORSTER REJECTED ANYTHING SMACKING OF A "TURNHALLE" FOR SOUTH AFRICA) AND THAT THEY WOULD BE PRESENTED WITH A MORE OR LESS COMPLETE BLUEPRINT AND ASKED TO ACCEPT IT. WHITE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GOVERNMENT REFORM, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, POLITICAL PARTIES, MINORITIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 17-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977CAPET01212
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770296-0796
Format: TEL
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770854/aaaabtoz.tel
Line Count: 216
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a0316b59-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 PRETORIA 3919, 77 PRETORIA 4107, 77 CAPE TOWN 1201
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1581026
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: VIEWS OF AN AFRIKANER ACADEMIC AND NATIONALIST PARTY MP
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, SF, (VAN DE WELT, ANDRIES), (ESTERHUYSE, WP)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a0316b59-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009